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The Shape of Things

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE HAS WOUND up its work: President Truman has pronounced a benediction; and as we write these words the delegates are already preparing to start on their long voyages home. What has been accomplished? Is the result worth the effort? People will answer these questions according to their political predispositions, in the light of their hopes and, even more, their fears. Certainly the new world organization will not be hampered in its operations by the shining illusions that bedeviled the League of Nations from the beginning. Rather the danger is that it will be impeded by cynicism and political differences. An advantage of enormous practical importance, which the old League did not possess, lies in the membership of Russia and the United States. Our own view of the new charter is one of very restrained optimism. It promises an instrument which can be used for the preservation of peace if the powers desire peace. It offers a forum for the debate of world problems and a court for the adjudication of disputes. In some structural respects it is better than the League of Nations; certainly it makes more effective provision for the use of force in cases of aggression. It does not create either a world government or a federation of nations; it does not modify in any important degree the existing colonial system; it does not establish freedom where none now exists. The separate sovereignty of the states comprising the new organization is elaborately protected and the authority of the greatest powers is strongly intrenched behind the unanimity rule. But anything less than this would have been rejected, not only by Russia and probably by Britain, but certainly by the United States Senate. The simple fact is that a more democratic instrument would imply a world in which nationalism had been replaced by international brotherhood; such a world could hardly have been fabricated by the gentlemen assembled at San Francisco. A full analysis of the new organization by Percy E. Corbett will appear shortly in these pages together with further editorial discussion.

*

SOLUTION OF THE POLISH ISSUE HAS REMOVED the greatest immediate obstacle to collaboration among the Big Three and has cleared the air for their next meeting. The Russians were wise not to impose severe sentences on General Okulicki and the fifteen other Poles accused of carrying on diversionary activities behind the Red Army lines. Had any of them been sentenced to death the conversations on the revision of the Polish government would have been gravely threatened; and former Premier Mikolajczyk and the Socialist leader Jan Stanczyk could not have participated in the new government. Some may say that there should have

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been neither arrests nor trials. But it would have been too much to demand that the Russians should simply renounce the opportunity of proving their case against the London government in the interest of harmony and conciliation. Those whose minds are already set against Russia will dismiss the declaration made by the defendants as "another farcical performance of typical Soviet injustice"—as certain Poles opposed to the new Warsaw government have already done. But this attitude is an offense against the unanimously recognized personal courage of the Polish people, and particularly of General Okulicki. The accused were the last people likely to yield to pressure or fear of reprisal. The London *Times*, which has never been accused of "following the line," presents a more convincing view. It states that anyone who has been in contact with some of the Polish émigrés in London and has had an opportunity to measure their hatred of Russia could not be greatly surprised to find them involved in anti-Russian activities.

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THE MOST ENCOURAGING ASPECT OF THE NEW Polish government is the appointment to the Presidential Council of Three of Wincenty Witos from inside Poland and Stanislaw Grabski from London. No one who respects facts can charge that either one is "in the service of Moscow." Under the present constitution the Presidential Council has great authority. The presence of Witos and Grabski is, therefore, a hopeful sign that Moscow does not intend to force the new Cabinet into a hopeless position of dependence. Nor is there reason to assume that men like Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk, who, on various previous occasions, refused to join the Warsaw regime, have now suddenly resigned themselves to being puppets. These four men seem to offer a reasonable guaranty that the revised government will act, not under the dictates of a single party, but according to the will of the wide range of political groups that comprise it. At the same time it must be recognized that much of the new government's success in the difficult task of reconciling conflicting elements among the population will depend upon the Russians. It will be to Moscow's greatest interest to dispel the suspicions that have surrounded the Polish problem and to prove finally that it is serious when it speaks of an independent, democratic Poland. If truly free elections are held in Poland as soon as possible Russia's moral position, after the months of controversy that almost ruined the San Francisco conference, will be greatly strengthened and distrust reduced to a minimum.

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THE APPOINTMENT OF "VINEGAR JOE" STILWELL to command the Tenth Army, conquerors of Okinawa, is bad news for the Japanese but extremely good news for the United Nations. General Stilwell's military prowess is legendary in the Pacific. With a handful of Americans and a few thousand ill-trained Chinese he put up a brilliant defensive battle for Burma in 1942. Three years later these same Chinese, trained in modern warfare, with the aid of a somewhat larger force of American and British troops, reconquered Burma in accordance with a strategic plan drawn up by Stilwell and defended by him against stubborn British and Chinese opposition. Stilwell's value in the final drive against Japan is enhanced by the fact that he is the only American general officer who has specialized on the Far East, is fully familiar with its geography, and has a thorough understanding of both the Chinese and the Japanese. If he leads his Tenth Army into China, he will find ready and enthusiastic cooperation both from the local provincial troops and the guerrilla forces which operate along the China coasts. But above all, Stilwell is a fighting general, the kind of leader who inspires his men to great sacrifices. His appointment indicates that the war is just beginning for Hirohito.

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REPORTS OF BOTH CHINESE VICTORIES AND Japanese advances have presented the average newspaper reader with a most confusing picture of the military situation in China. But careful study of the map reveals a clear pattern in recent Japanese operations. Faced by the prospect of an early American landing, the enemy has withdrawn from a large part of the insecure land corridor to Indo-China but has taken steps to widen and strengthen the vital route to Canton and Hongkong. Since those two cities are the key to the rich economic resources of South China, the shift has served to consolidate Japan's position and make the Allied task more difficult than ever. Much the same sort of shift has been under way on the China coast. The Japanese have retreated northward some miles beyond Wenchow but have established powerful defenses to protect Hangchow Bay and the vital industrial area northward toward Shanghai. Although the evacuation of the China coast opposite Okinawa seems to invite an American invasion in this area, the difficult communications between this stretch of coast and the interior render such an expedition of doubtful value. The Japanese may have been weakened by our air attacks on the home islands, but their strategic position in China is still strong.

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EXCEPT FOR ONE SECTION, WHICH SEEMS TO safeguard Jewish rights in Palestine, we see nothing to commend and much to deplore in the so-called United Nations charter for colonial peoples. The trusteeship idea emerges as a glamorous fraud, a maximum cover for standard imperialism but hardly even a meager concession to the just aspirations for self-rule and self-development of 750,000,000 colonial and colored peoples. The powers may annex whatever colonial territories of the Axis they feel necessary to their security; this takes care of "our" Pacific islands. Whether any conquered territory or existing mandate is placed under the new trusteeship council will depend entirely on the possessing or mandatory power. There is no provision for native representation on the council, or for a right to appeal to it, or for the right of dependent peoples to request an investigation of their grievances. The principal change, so far as dependent peoples are concerned, is that the great powers are permitted to fortify colonial areas and to levy on their population and resources for the defense of the empire which holds them in fief. The powers could not do this under the League mandates system: that is, they could not do it legally; they did do it covertly. Hardly a historic reform.

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THE CANADIAN SOLDIER VOTE MERITS STUDY. It shows a distinctly more leftward slant than the civilian

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poll. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation received 32 per cent of the soldiers' ballots, 16 per cent of the civilian vote; both old-line parties, Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, showed less soldier than civilian backing. The most spectacular C. C. F. victory was, of course, in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, where E. L. Bowerman dislodged Prime Minister W. L. MacKenzie King from his well-worn seat. In Ottawa, the C. C. F. total has now moved up from 10 members in the last Parliament to 28 members—a sizable progressive bloc. Throughout the country its popular vote was well over 800,000, more than twice the vote the party received in 1940. The Toronto *Star,* commenting on the service vote, wrote editorially: "The military vote is all the more important because it is the vote of young or comparatively young men and women, and may therefore be thought to reflect future trends of thought. No doubt it does reflect such trends. Youth seeks reform. . . . The returning men and women of the armed forces will expect a better Canada than they left behind." It is a pleasure to be able to revise our earlier appraisal of the Canadian election in this hopeful direction. Canada, which in a phrase of Mr. Maxwell Cohen in last week's *Nation* seemed to be seeking "the shelter of the center," has apparently received an infusion of progressive new opinion from the battlefields which will not be contented with the old political patterns. The C. C. F. is in a crucial position to give responsible leadership.

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CONGRESS MADE AMENDS LAST WEEK FOR SOME of its recent misdeeds. In an impressive reversal, the Senate deleted the Finance Committee's limitation on the tariff-cutting powers of the President in the Trade Agreements Act and passed the measure by a vote of fifty-four to twenty-one. Although the Republicans had voted almost solidly against it in committee and had vigorously, but vainly, pressed for crippling amendments, nearly half of them supported the bill in the final showdown. The result seems to presage early acceptance of the legislation setting up the Bretton Woods stabilization program. Meanwhile the Senate Appropriations Committee voted to restore most of the funds for the OWI and the FEPC, which had been eliminated by the House, but the Southern Democrats are expected to carry the fight against the latter agency to the Senate floor. In the House the disastrous Wherry amendment was struck out of the price-control bill, but House Republicans succeeded in pushing through a series of amendments designed to weaken the effectiveness of the OPA's control over food prices. It is to be hoped that most of these last-minute changes, together with the Wherry amendment, will be dropped by the Senate-House conference.

*

MEANWHILE DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY THE House Appropriations Committee, which has been out of bounds again, remain unresolved. One of its recent attempts to influence policy in the course of providing or withholding funds for federal agencies immediately affects several hundred thousand workers and next winter's food supply. By a recent amendment to the National War Agencies Appropriations bill the House denied the War Labor Board jurisdiction in disputes involving "agricultural labor" as defined by the Social Security Act. This definition includes a larger number of agricultural workers than any of the other definitions adopted by Congress and the various federal administrative agencies. If the bill is passed by the Senate in its present form, existing administrative confusion concerning the status of an extremely large number of agricultural workers will be greatly increased. The situation might then well arise in which the National Labor Relations Board would certify a union as the sole collective-bargaining agency for a group of workers but the War Labor Board would be powerless to settle any strike or dispute to which the union so designated was a party. During the war there have been remarkably few labor disputes in industrialized agricultural areas such as California and Texas. But if the War Labor Board is divested of all jurisdiction over "agricultural laborers" labor unrest is bound to increase there and in other large commercial farming areas. If Congress is really concerned about the food situation it will promptly reconsider this provocative amendment.

Spain Stays Out

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IN A letter written to the Friends of the Spanish Republic in San Francisco on May 4 Secretary Stettinius insisted that "the question of the admission to the proposed International Organization of specific states not at war with the enemies of the United Nations is not one which is expected to be brought before the conference." He admitted in the same letter that a request for admission by Spain "might properly be entertained by the International Organization after its formation." In a second letter, dated May 25, the Secretary of State repeated the first point and then went on to say that the provision in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals covering the admission of new members would almost certainly "be written into the charter substantially without change." These words represented the view and undoubtedly the intention of the State Department a month ago. It is interesting to recall them today, for events turned out very differently from Mr. Stettinius's prediction—and in the end the American representative on the Commission on General Provisions found it expedient to support the reversal.

The vigorous intervention in the meeting of that commission by Luis Quintanilla, former Mexican Ambassador to Russia, had been long expected and often postponed. But when it came, it was effective beyond the best hopes of the democratic delegates; for Quintanilla's declaration, part of an impassioned speech attacking Franco by name and with specific charges of pro-Axis behavior, was approved by acclamation and will be incorporated in the record of the commission. And among the half-dozen or so supporting statements was one by James Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State, who said, "The United States government is in accord with the sentiments expressed by the Mexican delegate and wishes to associate itself with them." The declaration was general in its terms, asserting only that membership in the new international organization cannot be claimed by states whose regimes were

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established with the help of countries that waged war against the United Nations "as long as these regimes remain in power." But Señor Quintanilla's explanation of the formula made its meaning amply clear: "We have in mind not only the puppet government of Manchukuo . . . but, closer to us Latin American republics, that in Spain."

Obviously it would have been far better if the wording of the membership clause in the charter had itself been rewritten in the sense of the Mexican declaration, and this was the view taken by the Friends of the Spanish Republic, which had worked consistently for an amendment. But in view of the context in which the declaration was made and the sense of the speeches which supported it—all of them except Mr. Dunn's explicit in their references to Franco—it would be rather difficult for the council of the new world organization to find a loophole for the Generalissimo to crawl through. And so we have reason to rejoice both in the result and in the fact that our own delegation, flatly opposed throughout the conference to any consideration of the question of Spain, was forced at the end to come around far enough to "associate itself" with Señor Quintanilla's eloquent attack on Spanish fascism.

The meaning of the gesture on the part of our government is worth exploring a bit. We don't need to linger over the question whether Mr. Dunn, consistent enemy of Republican Spain, experienced a sudden change of heart. The important problem is whether his statement indicates a change of policy in the State Department. Newspaper comment on the incident has suggested that the United States wished to go along with the Latin American countries—Mexico particularly—in their evident desire to veto in advance any application for membership from Franco. But this is not a very convincing explanation. The Latin American countries tried desperately to bring the issue of Spain before the Chapultepec conference, and the State Department succeeded in preventing it. A more realistic view is that the State Department yielded to a demand which had become too general to ignore or oppose, but managed to do it in a form which leaves its hands untied. First, the declaration has not the force of a clause in the Charter in any case. And, second, if Franco's regime survives, it would be possible, at some later date, to argue—as the Madrid Foreign Office has already argued—that the declaration had no bearing on Spain, since "the [Franco] government was proclaimed October 1, 1936, when no foreigner fought for Spain." This is a lie, but it is a lie which was accepted as truth by the Non-Intervention Committee in London. And if the Security Council also found it convenient to accept it, a way might be found to admit a renovated Franco regime or, even more easily, a regime remodeled to look like something quite different. For the news from Spain indicates clearly that Franco is preparing the way for a new monarchist-plus-fascist set-up. On July 18, the anniversary of his rebellion, he plans to establish a "Council of the Realm," which will be empowered to deal with the question of succession in accordance with Spain's "monarchist traditions." And while cooking up plans to keep himself in power by going through the motions of preparing to replace himself, Franco is also busy reporting to the war-battered Continent that Spain is orderly, well-fed, and about to have a lot of new civil liberties.

The declaration at San Francisco ruling out Franco's dictatorship was a valuable move. The next necessary step is a reunion of the democratic Spanish forces and the restoration of a republic in Spain. The help outside nations can provide in this process is necessarily limited; but one thing at least they can do: they can break with the regime they have shut out of the new security organization. In our own country, we suggest that the Congress adopt without further delay the Coffee resolution calling for an end of relations, diplomatic and economic, with Franco Spain. Then there would no longer be any doubt about the meaning we want to attach to Mr. Dunn's remarks at San Francisco last week.

Target, Labor's Rights

THE Hatch-Burton-Ball Labor Disputes bill marks the resumption of the pre-war campaign by big employing interests and their middle-class sympathizers to amend the Wagner Act so as to make it apply "equally"—as their phrase has it—to employers and employees. This plausible but specious premise overlooks the basic fact that the Wagner Act merely gave labor rights of self-organization for collective bargaining that capital has always had. It did not create an inequality; it corrected one. As far back as the Senatorial campaign of 1938 certain publishers who hated to bargain collectively with their own men offered to support Wagner for reelection if he agreed to amendments of the kind now outlined. It is to his credit that he refused and won without the publishers' support.

Great shrewdness in the field of public relations is evident in the way this new bill has been presented. Senators Hatch, Burton, and Ball, with Hill of Alabama, sponsored the famous B2H2 resolution for world peace. Now, as Hatch told the Senate, they bring forward a plan for industrial peace. Of these four Senators only one, Lister Hill, has been close to the labor movement. It is significant that he has not associated himself with the new bill. Its prime mover seems to be Donald R. Richberg, who trades on his past record as a labor lawyer. But the assets of good-will so acquired have long been dissipated. Mr. Richberg's effort to use Section 7-a of the old NRA to stifle rather than encourage collective bargaining marked his desertion of pro-labor ranks. He has since enjoyed a lucrative practice as a corporation lawyer in Washington, representing notably the Standard Oil interests. The cloven hoof in his thinking is apparent in the velvety phrases of the "Outline of a Program for Industrial Peace," which he made public as chairman of the self-appointed committee that drafted the bill. When Mr. Richberg objects, as he does in this foreword, to the exemption of labor unions from the anti-trust laws, it is evident where his sympathies lie and whom he serves. This hard-won exemption, gained under Woodrow Wilson in the Clayton Act, has always rankled with the corporate bar. If Mr. Richberg could have his way, he would apparently undo not merely Roosevelt's but Wilson's work in insuring minimum rights to labor and minimum protection against "government by injunction."

Many provisions of the bill will impress persons not too

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aware of the realities of labor's struggle and the inevitable orientation of the courts toward property rights. A few suggestions in it are good. We do not question the good faith of the Senators who sponsor the bill or of all the people associated with Mr. Richberg in this venture. But the skilled corporation lawyer will instantly see its advantages in weakening the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction law, in opening rich avenues of litigation, in increasing "the law's delays" in the labor field, and in entangling unions within a net of costly and time-consuming adjudication. As one reads the bill, phrase after phrase strikes the eye which will require elucidation in the courts and invite lengthy appeals at every step.

The bill cuts down the area of collective bargaining by exempting agricultural workers, domestic workers, and workers in establishments employing less than twenty men. We are especially concerned with workers on farms and in processing plants, who need protection badly in an era of ever-increasing mechanization of agriculture, and we call attention here to the still-born La Follette bill to insure their rights. The bill also removes from the protection of the Wagner Act a large area of activities that lie between clearly interstate and clearly intrastate business. It then proposes to launch us on the hazardous seas of compulsory arbitration under legal conditions which would make many legitimate union activities punishable by injunction. Workers, for example, are to be protected from "interference, influence, or coercion . . . by any party in collective bargaining." What if a union official tries to influence non-members to join; would that become illegal under the new bill? Individual employees or groups of employees may take up grievances directly with management irrespective of union representation in the shop. This is a good way to split and weaken a union. The bill looks therefore like a measure to cut down labor's rights and to foment litigation. It would upset the measure of stability achieved through judicial interpretation of the Wagner Act, replace the existing National Labor Relations Board, and throw every phase of labor relations open to controversy again. This does not seem to us a wise way to procure stable labor relations after the war.

The thinking behind this bill is, at best, the thinking of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Senator Ball told the Senate that we faced "two major post-war problems." One was a "sound" tax program, the other a "fair" federal labor-relations policy. "Not one, but scores of employers have told me," he said, "that unless and until there is a clarification of federal labor-relations policy . . . there is scant chance that managers of smaller enterprises will risk much expansion in the reconversion period." This is the old familiar bogy. The effective organization of our economy for full employment is the crucial necessity. If we achieve that, labor relations will take care of themselves and taxes will be payable.

UNITED NATIONS
CLUB
RULE: All players to play together, but not so as to cramp any player's style. (That would be unrealistic)
RUSSIAN GAME
BRITISH GAME
U.S.A. GAME
FRENCH GAME
"A FINE TEAM—BUT COULD DO WITH A DASH OF UNITY...."

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Two Major Court Decisions

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 21

LIBERALS won two victories in the United States Supreme Court this week. One was in the case of Harry Bridges. The other was in the anti-trust suit against the Associated Press. But neither decision was satisfactory. Both were evasive. We have a right to expect more from a New Deal Supreme Court largely made up of younger men with progressive reputations.

It is true that it took courage to free Harry Bridges from deportation and to rule against the Associated Press. Powerful forces, of commanding influence in Congress, the country, and the press, have pursued Bridges with unrelenting hostility for more than a decade. The Associated Press is a combination of the greatest newspapers in the country; their A. P. "franchises" are worth millions of dollars, and their power to make life miserable for any man in political life is obvious.

In the Bridges decision it was disappointing to find the Chief Justice in the minority with Roberts and Frankfurter; Chief Justice Stone's record is a liberal one. There was no surprise in the position taken by Roberts and, truth to tell, little surprise that Frankfurter joined with him and the Chief Justice in about as unenlightened and narrowly legalistic an opinion as has ever come from the Supreme Court. Van Devanter could not have been more complaisant than were Stone, Roberts, and Frankfurter in their acceptance of views which would leave aliens in deportation cases with no protection whatsoever against Congressional bigotry and with very little against administrative oppression. In Frankfurter's case it is hard to believe that this is the same man who fought so bravely for the rights of aliens in the "deportations delirium" after the last war.

Justice Douglas's majority opinion, for himself and Justices Black, Reed, and Rutledge, was narrow and cautious. It invalidated the Bridges deportation order on two grounds. One was that Bridges had not been given a fair hearing on the question of his membership in the Communist Party. The other was that the Attorney General and the lower courts had misconstrued the term "affiliation" as used in the statute. On this second point the majority established a wholesome precedent, of great value in future red hunts and Dies-style persecutions of aliens, government employees, and others. The statute provides for the deportation of persons who are members of, or affiliated with, organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. "But," the majority held, "he who cooperates with such an organization only in its *wholly lawful activities* cannot by that fact be said as a matter of law to be 'affiliated' with it" (the italics are the court's). This should make it more difficult in the future to deport or to oust from government employment persons whose sole "crime" is that they cooperated with Communists in strikes, in aid to Loyalist Spain, or in other lawful causes.

Unfortunately, having done so much, the majority found it unnecessary "to consider the larger constitutional questions" involved in the Bridges case. It was to those larger questions that Justice Murphy devoted himself in a fiercely eloquent separate opinion concurring in the result reached by the majority but on broader and deeper grounds. The final passage of that opinion ranks with the best of Holmes and Brandeis in its passion for justice and its devotion to traditional American ideals of liberty.

The minority did deal with these larger constitutional questions. No one denies that the guaranties of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the procedural clauses, protect aliens equally with citizens. But Stone, Roberts, and Frankfurter agreed with former Attorney General Biddle that Congress can deport aliens for any reason whatever, regardless of the Bill of Rights or these other guaranties. They agreed that an alien who is to be deported has a right only to so much of a fair hearing as is accorded him in the regulations of the administrative agency which handles deportation. And they agreed that the courts must uphold the deportation if there is "more than a scintilla" of evidence to support the order. The majority did not contest these propositions. It contented itself with ruling that Congress did not intend "affiliation" to be construed as loosely as it was in this case and that the Attorney General did not obey his own rules in determining whether Bridges was a Communist.

Justice Murphy felt that to leave the minority opinion uncontested on the broader issues was to free Bridges but to jeopardize the rights of 3,500,000 aliens. If Congress is subject to no constitutional limitations in deportation, Justice Murphy argued, then "the color of their skin, their racial background, or their religious faith may conceivably be used as the basis for their banishment." Justice Murphy attacked the precedents which hold that due process does not apply to deportation hearings because these are purely adminstrative and technically non-criminal. "The impact of deportation upon the life of an alien," he wrote, "is often as great as if not greater than the imposition of a criminal sentence. . . . There is thus no justifiable reason for discarding the democratic and humane tenets of our legal system and descending to the practices of despotism in dealing with deportation."

Justice Murphy raised two other fundamental points in declaring the deportation statute unconstitutional. He said that "the statute completely ignores the traditional American doctrine requiring personal guilt rather than guilt by association or imputation." It does not require that an alien, to be deportable, "must personally advocate or believe in the forceful overthrow of the government." It is enough if he is a member of, or affiliated with, an organization advocating such doctrine. This brings us to Justice Murphy's second point. He said the statute was invalid under the "clear-

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and-present-danger" test developed by Holmes and Brandeis to protect basic liberties. "Not the slightest evidence," Murphy pointed out, "was introduced to show that either Bridges or the Communist Party seriously and imminently threatens to uproot the government by force or violence." The statute, the Alien Registration Act of 1940, requires no such proof. These are all issues that the majority must some day face if basic liberties are to be secure in America.

Justice Black wrote a vigorous majority decision in the Associated Press case. The issue of law should be familiar by now. "Freedom of the press" can no more properly be stretched to exempt the newspaper business from the anti-trust laws than to exempt it from the Wagner Act or minimum-wage legislation. "The effect of our judgment," Judge Learned Hand said in the lower court, "will be, not to restrict Associated Press members as to what they shall print, but only to compel them to make their dispatches accessible to others." The issue of fact is whether the membership by-laws of the A. P. and its exclusive arrangements for the exchange of news with its members operate to restrain trade in the newspaper business. If they do, the courts may properly enjoin them. "It would be strange indeed," Justice Black said, "if the grave concern for freedom of the press which prompted adoption of the First Amendment should be read as a command that the government was without power to protect that freedom" from private interference.

The general principles laid down by Justice Black and in the separate concurring opinions of Justices Frankfurter and Douglas are excellent. Unfortunately, anti-trust adjudication is not a contest in philosophic disquisition. The test is the decree resulting from the decision, and the Supreme Court declined to strengthen the decree issued by the lower court, which is as turgid as it is ambiguous. The decree would forbid an A. P. member from vetoing an application for membership from a competing publisher, and it solemnly enjoins other members not to think of these competitive factors in passing on applications. "It is of course true," Judge Hand said, "that the members may disregard the last provision in practice, but that is not to be assumed." Judge Hand seems to have forgotten that he sits in the Southern District of New York, not within the Pearly Gates.

Publishers, an earthy lot, have not been slow to see the advantages of this judicial honor system. One of their sages has already suggested, in *Editor and Publisher*, that while a member of the A. P. "may remain seemingly inactive" when a competitor applies, "he can have his friends elsewhere kindly administer the anaesthetic." Some cryptic dicta from the Supreme Court indicate that the justices might frown on such procedure. More effective would have been the simple, common-sense ruling that the A. P. must serve all comers. But a decree without loopholes *would* be a break with the most venerable tradition of anti-trust "enforcement."

The French View on Syria

BY MICHAEL CLARK

Paris, June 21 (by cable)

THE expulsion of the French from Syria, apparently completed last week, has provoked here the profoundest distress. Nobody questions the real meaning of the events in the Levant. The operation carried out under British auspices is seen as designed to liquidate the position of France in the Middle East and compromise it seriously everywhere, particularly in North Africa and the Far East. The weakened French feel they are being forced to yield to the higher interest and superior force of Anglo-American expansion—our new positions must be occupied fast to forestall the possible designs of Russian expansion. But here in Paris the remoter consequences fade before the immediate spectacle: the exodus of French soldiers, priests, nuns, civil servants, professors, and merchants, uprooted and despoiled, occasionally massacred, under the so-called protection of the British army and in a country summoned to play a mature role in the civilized world. François Mauriac, writing in *Figaro,* expressed in measured terms the feeling of most Frenchmen: "When Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden in all good faith addressed themselves to France, showering her with promises, they spoke as gentlemen, as Europeans faithful to a humanist and Christian culture. In Syria we are not dealing with gentlemen but with the course of English history, expressed by no human voice, taking no account of human sentiment."

Earlier the British excused their action by invoking the Japanese war and the possible revolt of the entire Arab world, and based press attacks against France and the "chauvinistic," "megalomaniac" De Gaulle on distorted dispatches from the Levant. England was shocked that the French, having brought in reinforcements, proceeded to destroy Damascus by artillery and air bombardment. Armed intervention seemed its sacred duty. Hammering on a pan-Arab sounding board, which only yesterday vibrated to the beat of German propaganda, the British roused the Arab world to a crescendo of anti-French shrieks and howls.

The French delegate in Syria, General Oliva-Roget, recently in Paris, explained what really happened in Damascus. The picture has been completed by various declarations by De Gaulle and Bidault, in addition to speeches delivered in the Consultative Assembly, where the Syria debates closed on Tuesday. This picture is believed here despite the denials of Churchill, Grigg, Paget, *et al.*

On May 19 General Beynet, General Delegate to the Levant, communicated to the Syrian and Lebanese governments a memorandum designed to form the basis of negotiations leading to a final settlement but in no sense an ultimatum. Beirut and Damascus were in no mood to negotiate. Since the Syrian campaign in 1941, when the British obtained joint control of the Levant, local British intervention and provocation have been directed constantly toward making the French position untenable and assuring the defeat of the Franco-Syrian-Lebanese treaties. France, which had granted Syria and Lebanon a greater degree of independence than any

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Arab country had under British control, wanted to protect its established interests through a treaty considerably more liberal than the Anglo-Iraqi treaty.* The local governments, however, made the arrival of a few hundred French troops a pretext for breaking off negotiations.

To describe the dispatch of such a small contingent of troops to a country occupied by the vastly superior British Ninth Army as an act of intimidation is obviously far fetched. France, although specifically charged by the Lyttleton-De Gaulle agreement with the maintenance of order in the Levant, had in 1942 withdrawn virtually all its own troops to Libya, leaving in the Levant a territorial force called *troupes speciales,* composed of some 29,000 Lebanese and Syrian officers and men under French command. As a gesture of good-will several battalions of these *troupes speciales* were recently transferred to the Syrian government. The arrival of 500 F. F. I. troops should not have been taken amiss, particularly when the British constantly move far greater numbers to and from Syria at will. Politically, however, the timing of the reinforcements, delayed by shipping difficulties, constituted a blunder.

Recruiting for the Syrian national army has been carried on for a long time in Damascus, and the *troupes speciales* have been exhorted to desert *en masse.* On January 23 Jamil Mardam Bey declared from the balcony of the Damascus government palace, "The army which we will obtain is the army now serving under French orders." On May 19—the date is important—Hilmi Atassi laid before the Syrian Parliament a bill, Article two of which said, "All Syrians employed in the *troupes speciales* are asked to leave their posts within one month after publication of this law and enlist in the national army." At the same time the national army was supplied with British arms. At a Paris press conference on June 7 Oliva-Roget said, "Beginning on May 19 British trucks came almost nightly to the Citadel to deliver arms and ammunition. I assert nothing by guesswork. During the night of May 22-23 sixty British trucks were seen to enter the Citadel and leave arms for the equipment of what is piously called the Syrian National Army." Apparently the Syrian government and the British were confident that the *troupes speciales* would desert in droves and that the French, thus diminished, would be unable to control the situation. The *troupes speciales,* however, remained loyal—only 11 men and no officers deserted from 21,000—and had to be detached forcibly from French command. Oliva-Roget read a letter by Captain Mohammed Hamer, commanding the Seventh Druse Light Squadron, promising that he and his men would fight to the finish.

On May 20 anti-French demonstrations, partly the result of an incendiary press campaign, flared up in Damascus and Aleppo. By the evening of May 30 order had been restored in Damascus. The "destruction of Damascus" had amounted to the dropping of three bombs of a hundred kilograms on the Citadel, plus twenty cannon shots at the Parliament, where Syrian irregulars and gendarmes had opened fire from behind sandbags on the French headquarters. Elsewhere the French, when attacked, returned fire. On the morning of May 31 Oliva-Roget received envoys from several quarters of the city. They had not come on behalf of the government, then inoperative, but on behalf of certain municipal authorities offering to submit. Oliva-Roget accepted in principle, and the emissaries promised to return at 4 p.m. with a final answer. The emissaries did not return, however, because in the interim it was learned that British intervention was imminent. On June 1 Oliva-Roget received a letter written by Colonel Morgan for the British command on May 31, that is, after fighting in Damascus had stopped. The letter said:

> I am charged by the Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East to communicate to you the following order: (1) You have at present no authority except disciplinary authority over your own troops in their barracks. (2) I have assumed responsibility for assuring the protection of the French barracks and installations in Damascus. (3) This being so, there will be no excuse under any circumstances for French troops to open fire in their own defense. (4) I must warn you also that should any French troops open fire, the barracks of these troops will be bombed immediately. I have personally communicated these orders to my troops. (5) All guard posts will be removed immediately; otherwise force may be used. (6) All armored vehicles without exception will be taken to the barracks. (7) No French military personnel will go into the streets without my authorization. (8) Please acknowledge receipt of this communication.

Obeying orders from Paris and London, therefore, the French soldiers silently witnessed their own humiliation and the pillage and murder of their compatriots. These facts are confirmed by a letter written June 3 from Damascus by British Liaison Officer Renton and published in the *New Statesman and Nation* in London.

Pierre Kauffmann, correspondent of *Combat,* returned yesterday from Beirut. He writes in today's *Combat:*

> On the plane with me traveled a lieutenant in the Camel Corps. A few days ago he gathered together his company near Palmyra and said, "You have before you an isolated French officer whom you can murder before disbanding." These men from the desert chose to remain under his orders. Shortly afterward the British command intervened, and the lieutenant, according to general practice, was treated as a prisoner by the British. . . . It was to say things like this that I returned to Paris; the cables I sent from Beirut were stopped. . . . Documents exist which prove beyond doubt the nature of the policy followed in the Levant by eminent Foreign Office representatives. General Paget's intervention plan was ready four months ago. . . . The day the pan-Arab conference opened in Cairo, the Anglo-Egyptian censorship prevented mention of the speech of the Syrian delegate, Sahadallah Djabri, thanking Britain for a gift to Syria of 5,000 rifles and 35,000 tons of wheat. . . . The British government pursues in the Levant a policy which shows its determination to eliminate every vestige of French presence. Our people are excluded from the administration of the railways; we are losing the Damascus air base; the role of our officers in joint commissions has become laughable.

General De Gaulle's speech in the Consultative Assembly on Tuesday made it clear that France cannot be bound by a *coup de force.* Rejecting the *fait accompli,* De Gaulle offered to hear British proposals transmitted through diplomatic channels; failing which, only international arbitration remains, to which France is ready to submit.

* See Syria, Near-East Cockpit, by Michael Clark, in *The Nation* for March 17, 1945.

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In Free Czechoslovakia

BY KLAUS MANN

Somewhere in Czechoslovakia, May 17

THIS date line has nothing to do with military security; I simply don't know where we are. Maybe this place doesn't have any name? It isn't even a village—just an isolated hamlet, with three or four farmhouses and a tiny church. Well, we are not in a position to be particular. Our car broke down. It was our capricious vehicle which picked this out-of-the-world place to stop.

I am feeling keyed up because I am *abroad*—in another country. This part of Czechoslovakia has been liberated, and is now being protected, by the Czech and Russian armies. As long as you stick to American-occupied areas, you have never left home. Of course, the scenery changes as you move from one "theater" to another, but there are always the same American uniforms and vehicles, the same American faces and accents, the same American officers and regulations. As soon as you step out of "our" zone, however, things begin suddenly to look different.

We took off from Linz, Austria, this morning and proceeded eastward, leaving behind our familiar G. I. world. Everybody seems pleased to see a couple of Americans. The Czech civilians in the villages wave at us, and the soldiers—Russian as well as Czech—salute and grin and shout "Amerikanski!" The Czech and Russian troops seem to be on the best of terms with each other as well. There is heavy military traffic on the highways—partly in American-made jeeps and trucks, partly in horse-drawn vehicles—and long columns of liberated slave workers and prisoners. At crossroads and particularly crowded spots these movements are directed by smartly uniformed Russian police women, who have at once an authoritative and a graceful manner of manipulating their little red and yellow flags.

You see flags all over the countryside—a lavish display of Czechoslovakia's national colors side by side with the red Soviet banner, the Union Jack, and the Stars and Stripes. Even the smallest villages through which we have passed are festively decorated and have pictures of Benes, Masaryk, and Stalin in the windows.

The peasant woman in whose house we may have to stay tonight told us that Benes had just returned to Prague and received a great ovation. The room into which she has invited us has already been fixed for some Russian officers whom our hostess expects to arrive any day. The wall behind the beds is adorned with a huge crucifix, hanging just over the trinity—Stalin, Masaryk, Benes.

Prague, May 18

It's wonderful to be here, to see the city again, to find it free and practically undamaged. The lights are on, most stores and hotels are open, the streets are teeming with people. And all those flags! Prague looks indeed like a victorious capital.

Benes's popularity seems to have increased enormously during his absence. He has always been liked and respected, but now he is loved as the symbol of national freedom. I daresay his prestige today equals that of his great master and predecessor, Thomas G. Masaryk. Czechoslovakia has a new "President-Liberator."

From our room at the good old Shroubeck Hotel we have a beautiful view over the Wenzels Square. It's fun to watch the crowd—Czech civilians and soldiers, with a sprinkling of Russian uniforms. No Germans. The great question is where to get a bite to eat. The Shroubeck manager informed us politely but positively that he could not feed us unless we had ration cards. Unfortunately, we haven't any.

There was a chap hanging around in the lobby—a slim, gray-haired, rather distinguished-looking fellow—who told us that he was an American, and that he could easily get us all the food we wanted. But for some reason I don't feel like accepting his offer.

May 19

Breakfast and lunch at the Alcron Hotel, which most members of the new administration have made their provisional home. A Czech doctor and government official, just returned from exile, introduced us and made the necessary arrangements. Yet the man hardly knows us. He simply met us in the square and welcomed us as Americans.

In the Alcron lobby we were presented to the new Prime Minister, Zdenek Fierlinger, former Czechoslovak ambassador to Moscow, and to Professor Pazak, Minister of Information. We told Pazak we should like to get an interview with Benes, and he said he would forward our request to the President's office. We were tactfully advised, however, that just now the President is exceedingly occupied and would hardly have time to receive any correspondents.

One of Professor Pazak's assistants, Vaclav Zizka, deputy chief of the press department, suggested that we might like to meet General Charles Kutelvaser, the military leader who directed the uprising of Prague's population. On our way from the Alcron to Kutelvaser's headquarters we passed the ruins of the ancient City Hall, destroyed by German bombs after the armistice had been signed. In many streets we found the pavement still torn open or inadequately repaired—reminding us of the barricades behind which Czech men and women had risked their lives in the fight against the oppressors. Everybody we met seemed eager to tell us all about that violent and glorious episode.

General Kutelvaser, with whom we had a long and cordial talk, described dramatically the development of the patriotic rebellion. It started on the evening of May 4, when people in certain districts of the capital demonstrated against the Nazi regime by tearing down German street signs and posters. The next day came the first clashes between Czech patriots and German troops; the street fighting continued and increased in violence until May 11.

The rebellion was a spontaneous, not to say improvised, uprising. The patriots lacked arms and ammunition. Con-

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stantly harried by the Gestapo, they had been unable to communicate among themselves or coordinate their plans. There was no such thing as a revolutionary army; the movement consisted of numerous isolated groups—Czech deserters from the Wehrmacht, units of the Prague police force, student organizations, and so forth. But once the fighting started, this vanguard of liberation was joined by the masses.

"You must keep this in mind if you want to understand what has really happened," the General insisted. "The Battle of Prague was not fought by professional soldiers but by the people. Everybody took part, not only men but women and children. Those who were unable to fight helped by building barricades or carrying weapons and supplies."

In spite of so much patriotic unity and collective heroism, the situation looked grim by May 11. General Toussaint, commander of the German occupation army, had asked for reinforcements; five German divisions were approaching the capital. "The Russians came just in time to relieve us!" said General Kutelvaser. "They looked like angels to us as they moved in from Dresden with their heavy armor and artillery. But they might not have been able to take the city as quickly as they did if it had not been for our preparatory action. And if we had not kept the Germans busy, Prague might not exist today; those vandals would undoubtedly have carried out their plan to blow up the city."

I have just had a telephone call from the Ministry of Information. The President will see us this afternoon! Two *Stars and Stripes* men will be the first correspondents to be received by Benes in the liberated capital.

The same day, later

I didn't find Benes much changed. He received us in the same room in the Hradshin where I talked with him in 1937. As I congratulated him on his triumphant return, he said: "I have never doubted that I would come back, a little sooner or a little later, and that I would be welcomed by my people the way I actually was. The men and women of Czechoslovakia are with me because they know that my heart has always been with them, even when I was compelled to fight and work for my nation in foreign lands."

The country, he told us, has emerged from the ordeal in astonishingly good shape. The nation is today more united than ever; there have been hardly any quislings. "As for our economic situation, it will quickly improve," he said. "Important parts of our industrial plants have fortunately remained intact. I predict that two or three years from now Czechoslovakia will have regained the prosperity it enjoyed before the German invasion."

The country's present division into two separate zones—one occupied by the Americans, the other by the Russians—does not seem to worry him. "The administration of the Republic is firmly in the hands of the Czechoslovak government," he insisted. Of course the presence of foreign armies always involves certain inconveniences. But Benes emphasized, the behavior of both the Russians and the Americans is absolutely correct. "The Russians," he said, "have so far fulfilled conscientiously all their promises, and I don't doubt that they will continue to do so. Naturally, we shall have to live up to our obligations as well. For instance, it is our duty to feed the Russian forces as long as they are in our country. That may not be easy, but it has to be done."

There was one point which Benes stressed repeatedly. "The future well-being of Czechoslovakia and of Europe," he said again and again, "depends on one vital, indispensable condition—unity among Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. If they continue to collaborate in peace as they did in war, we may live to witness an era of progress and prosperity; if they fail to do so, there will be anarchy and disaster."

I left Benes, after one hour of stimulating talk, as full of respect and admiration as I had been after our first meeting. His idealistic élan is combined with a good deal of political shrewdness and realism. He possesses both faith and flexibility—a combination which makes him akin to a great American President, the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

May 20

What a curious place this Hotel Alcron is, with its colorful crowd of government functionaries, high-ranking Czech and Russian officers, diplomats, newspapermen, Czech pilots in dapper R. A. F. uniforms! Most of these people have just come home, after six years of exile. They seem to feel somewhat strange and forlorn in their own country. One young flier told me that he had been born and brought up in Prague, and had spent the past six years in Poland, France, England, and in the skies over many a battlefield, always longing to be home. "Now I am back at last," he said. "It's wonderful, of course, but somehow it isn't quite what I expected. So far I haven't been able to locate any of my relatives or old friends. The Nazis knew I was fighting them; that was why they arrested my whole family."

Any reporter who hangs around this lobby long enough should be able to pick up a lot of stories. But to me the most remarkable thing about the Alcron is the food. In the morning all these important-looking gentlemen and their ladies assemble in the hotel restaurant—the typical pompous dining-room of a typical pompous European palace caravansary. Respectfully welcomed by well-trained and dignified waiters, they take their places at beautifully set tables. The waiters, with long coat tails, white neckties, and all, rush to the kitchen and after a while return, to present—what? A cup of lukewarm *Ersatz* coffee without cream or sugar, two slices of incredibly poor black bread, and a bit of very dubious jam. That is what the government has for breakfast; if you offered such rations to any G. I. outfit, mutiny would break out. And the lunches and dinners aren't any better.

But nobody here seems to mind; the Alcron clientèle has other worries and interests. They talk heatedly during their pathetic meals and afterward in the lobby. There are so many things to discuss, so many problems to tackle.

"We'll have to work—all of us. We'll have to work very hard," exclaimed one of Czechoslovakia's leading bankers with whom we had dinner tonight. "Reconstruction is a hard, sober task. Words won't help us. One thing that *would* help us, the thing we need most urgently right now, is transportation. We need lorries. How can we start reconstruction unless we have enough vehicles to transport our men and materials? Lorries, that's what we should have! A tremendous number of them." "Liberation was just a beginning," he went on. "Now we've entered a new phase. The phase of lorries—if you know what I mean."

Let's send plenty of lorries to Czechoslovakia.

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May 21

We have had a curious, rather unpleasant experience with the gray-haired American who lives in our hotel. We finally accepted his invitation to have a glass of wine with him in his room. He talked a lot in a nervous, uneasy manner. Though he tried to appear nonchalant, he could not conceal a peculiar embarrassment; there was something hectic about the friendliness with which he treated us. Soon enough we were to find out what made him so fidgety and apologetic.

He had been in Germany during the whole war, without ever getting interned. Afterward he kept away from American authorities and had not yet visited the American-held zone of Czechoslovakia. He asserted, however, that he was anxious to return to the "good old U. S. A."—mainly for the purpose of suing one of the popular New York weeklies which had "slandered" him two or three years ago.

At this point our host did something almost incredibly reckless. He produced the allegedly "slanderous" article and the letter he had written to his lawyer regarding the whole affair. This letter, which he was so naive or so foolhardy as to show us, confirmed beyond any doubt the exposé published in the American magazine. The man whose fairly good red wine we were enjoying was described by the New York weekly as a "short-wave traitor" in the service of Dr. Goebbels. And that is what he actually was, according to his own representation. A resident of Berlin for a number of years and an ardent Nazi sympathizer, he had made a living before and after Pearl Harbor by broadcasting German propaganda to the United States. In other words, our nervous host was a minor Lord Haw-Haw or Ezra Pound.

It was only toward the end of the war, when German victory became more and more doubtful, that he retired from his lovely job. The past two years or so he had spent in a Bohemian spa, proceeding to Prague after the German collapse. The first thing he did in the Czech capital was to present himself as an American citizen to the Ministry of Information and to broadcast an enthusiastic eulogy of the anti-Nazi uprising. A fellow with principles!

Obviously he had expected us to be amused by his story or even to sympathize with him in his predicament. Our disgust and indignation seemed to surprise him greatly. "I'm extremely sorry you're taking this view," was all he had to say as we expressed our feelings in straightforward words.

We went over to the Alcron and reported the case to a Czech official. An hour later we were informed that our short-wave traitor had been arrested by the Czech police and would be turned over to American authorities in Pilsen. I suppose investigations about him may still be going on; that is why I prefer not to mention his name.*

May 22

I hate to leave Prague. There are so many issues about which I should like to gather more information.

What about the Sudeten problem? Will it be possible for the Czechs to live in peace with the Goebbels-infected Germans of that area?

What about Slovakia? An English correspondent just arrived from Bratislava told me that Nazi propaganda and Nazi bribes have not been without effect in that part of the republic. The Slovak administration, I understand, still recognizes certain anti-Semitic laws introduced by the Germans.

And what about those lorries?

Clearly, there are plenty of difficulties confronting Benes and his co-workers. But I have a lot of confidence in Benes, and I have a lot of confidence in Czechoslovakia. If any nation has, and deserves, a chance to recover quickly from the tribulations of the past few years, then it is this one. Democrats by instinct and tradition, the Czechs cherish their own freedom and respect the rights of others. They have a shrewd, courageous leader. And they have a beautiful capital—I really hate to leave Prague.

* The traitor who betrayed himself to Klaus Mann is Edward Leo Delaney; his arrest was reported in the American press last Wednesday.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Detroit Plans for Chaos

BY IRVING RICHTER

WHILE the United States Chamber of Commerce has been entering into a Labor-Management Charter with the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor, and while progressive management generally is seeking to reconvert to peacetime production with a minimum of economic dislocation, the major corporations in the automobile industry are deliberately fostering disorder and planning for chaos. They have adopted and are acting upon the philosophy set forth last August by John W. Scoville, chief economist for the Chrysler Corporation: "If you believe in economic freedom and competition, then you will be opposed to collective bargaining. . . . *As industrial turmoil increases,* more and more people will see the evils generated by collective bargaining, and we should look forward to the time when all federal labor laws will be repealed."

To hasten that happy day, automobile manufacturers are actively stirring up the "industrial turmoil" on which they rely. They are doing it in at least five ways. They are fomenting strikes, conducting lockouts which they call strikes, and utilizing all their power as advertisers to discredit labor for striking. They are following a veterans' reemployment and seniority policy which, while it offers little to veterans entering or returning to the industry, attempts to persuade them that their security depends upon the destruction of union organization. They are conducting a campaign to split off locals of the United Automobile Workers' national organization and to reduce them to the status of "independent" or company unions, as a first step toward eliminating collective bargaining altogether. They are carrying on an active anti-labor, anti-Wagner Act, anti-NLRB lobby in Washington. And they are seeking to carry other segments of our economy —notably the National Association of Manufacturers and the farm organizations—with them on the road to post-war

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strife. The detailed documentation of these charges must await the Congressional investigation which U. A. W. officials have demanded, but enough is already known to make the pattern clear.

First, the widely publicized strikes. Two examples are typical. One day last February plant supervisors at Chrysler's Dodge factory in Detroit summarily fired eight officials of the local union while a dispute on production schedules was going through the established grievance procedure. The next day supervisors at the Briggs plant, a close Chrysler affiliate, similarly dismissed eight officials of the local. Men at both plants, exasperated by a number of earlier incidents, struck. Officials of the union charged that the plant supervisors were acting under explicit orders from the top Chrysler management, whose reliance on "industrial turmoil" has been noted. A subsequent event confirmed their suspicions. When union trouble-shooters, whose task it is to enforce the no-strike pledge, appeared at the struck Chrysler plant, the bitterest opposition to their back-to-work arguments came from a plant committeeman, Ray Lovelace. Despite his efforts, the men voted to end the strike—only to learn that Lovelace had been promoted to a company labor-relations job in the South. "Was this a reward for services rendered?" asked the union.

Where provocation by management fails to achieve more than a momentary work stoppage, the company may resort to lockouts, as in the recent Packard episode. There a small group of men walked out when established grievance procedure was ignored. When the rest of the 20,000 workers reported to work next day, they found the plant gates locked against them. The men hung around or went home—only to read in all three Detroit newspapers, "20,000 Packard Workers Continue to Strike; Cause Unknown." The press generally, hungry for automobile advertising, has played the company game with greater ardor than usual.

The industry's ultimate goal—a return to non-union individual bargaining as it existed in the days of Coolidge—is clear both from its words and from its actions. The Automotive Council for War Production—war-time alias of the Automobile Manufacturers' Association—is actively lobbying for amendments to the Wagner Act and decreased NLRB appropriations; its director, George Romney, has been quoted in the New York *Times* as warning that reconversion will be delayed by "the operation of collective bargaining."

While publicly bemoaning the war-time strikes, Romney has advocated "more democracy for local unions" and has asked the government to "decentralize C. I. O. power." He knows, of course, that it has been the international officers and regional directors who have made the no-strike pledge stick. What better proof that Romney and his principals, like Scoville, want more strikes, not fewer?

The General Motors Corporation has recently issued to all its foremen an order which strikes at the heart of established procedure for collective bargaining. The order requires the foreman to refuse to call a union committeeman to hear an aggrieved worker unless the worker has first given the complete story of his grievance to the foreman. It further orders the foreman to remain present at all times while the worker and the committeeman discuss the grievance. Obviously this will discourage all but the toughest union men from reporting a grievance. And if the union cannot be used for handling grievances, the natural reaction of the worker will be to balk at joining or paying dues to the union.

Chrysler's economist, John W. Scoville, makes it very clear why the corporations are out to destroy the C. I. O. Automobile Workers: "Fair wages are wages that are just high enough to attract the required number of employees of the desired quality. No labor unions are required to secure fair wage rates." But it is with respect to veteran reemployment and seniority that the industry has most obviously tipped its hand, and sown dragon's teeth which may some day cause serious trouble in Detroit. The U. A. W., with 300,000 members in the armed forces, has a staff of seven veterans working full time on veterans' needs. The organization knows what may happen if efforts to turn veteran against worker succeed and has demanded that all collective-bargaining contracts be reopened for the insertion of veteran-seniority clauses. To date none of the Big Three has complied.

Instead, the industry's proposal is to grant to veterans a so-called "super-seniority" which in effect provides that the employer can fire anybody at any time, even a veteran of World War I who has been with the company ever since, in order to put a returned veteran in his place. Having displaced the senior employee, however, the returned veteran does not achieve seniority himself under the company proposal. On the contrary, he can be fired like any other novice after the one year provided in the Selective Service Act. In short, the automobile industry proposes to destroy seniority altogether, for veterans and non-veterans alike, under the guise of providing jobs for returned service men. Ultimately the best protection for the veteran as for everyone else will be jobs for all—60,000,000 jobs. The industry's program is to sell the veteran the notion that the only way for him to get a job is to take it away from someone else.

Detroit has tasted full employment—and the companies don't like its savor. Rufus Tucker, General Motors economist, puts it this way: "I believe that three million is the minimum possible allowance for unemployment, even in years when the demand for labor is high." Actually, Tucker's figures call for seven million unemployed in 1950—the three million mentioned, plus four million others—"practically all the men in the emergency labor force and practically all the women who would normally have retired, and at least two-thirds of the women who would not normally have entered the labor force." Scoville, the Chrysler economist, writing in *Barron's*, adds that the right to a job is "one of the most absurd of the current fallacies"; it could be established only by "replacing freedom with communism."

With so many millions out of work, who will buy Detroit's automobiles? The industry has an answer to that one, too. Current demands on the OPA to permit a 25 per cent price increase for automobiles show one side of the coin. The other side is the low production quota of 200,000 automobiles for the rest of 1945, made necessary by present steel shortages. After six months of such limited production, with plants like Willow Run closed down altogether without plans for reopening, Detroit will have sufficient unemployment and industrial turmoil to satisfy the most turmoil-loving enemy of collective bargaining. Incidentally, limiting automobile production to a few hundred

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thousand a quarter, divided among half a dozen companies—instead of the 10,000,000 annual production the U. A. W. says is possible and practicable—will make an unassailable case for price rises and open up a post-war perspective featured by fewer cars, more unemployment, racial tension, veteran unrest, and wider profit margins than ever before. Already progress has been made, with an estimated 120,000 let out of jobs since or in anticipation of V-E Day.

Fortunately, attempts to seat other economic interests on the same post-war toboggan have so far not succeeded. The automobile lobby in Washington has joined hands with food processors and with Senator Lee O'Daniel's Christian America Association to cripple enforcement of the Wagner Act in the food industries through a rider to the NLRB appropriation bill. In return, Ivan McDaniel of the fruit-packing lobby, whose earlier anti-labor activities were uncovered by the La Follette committee, is backing the automobile industry's drive for other anti-labor legislation. But the farm organizations generally have shown a most encouraging unwillingness to go along.

The National Farmers' Union, of course, continues its established policy of farmer-labor cooperation. And neither the Farm Bureau Federation nor the Grange has swallowed the Automotive Council bait. Ed O'Neal, Farm Bureau president, has said, "It is axiomatic that national income cannot be maintained unless labor is practically fully employed, and at fair wages"; and a recent Grange report on foreign trade stressed the need "to maintain full employment and thus assure a basis to preserve our American standard of living for agriculture as well as for industry." Perhaps farm leaders have taken warning from the words of Scoville of Chrysler: "While I condemn collective bargaining as an assault on liberty, as an evil thing . . . I realize that collective bargaining is only one chick in the foul breed of vultures that seek to pick the meat from the bones of honest men. . . . *Farmer schemes for parity prices are of this malignant type.*"

But support for the automobile industry's position is being sought chiefly in the Executive Committee of the N. A. M. George Romney of the Automotive Council, though not a member, sat in on the committee's meetings when it decided not to sign the Labor-Management Charter; subsequently he attacked the charter in a series of radio broadcasts. B. E. Hutchinson, vice-president of Chrysler, attacked particularly the provision in the charter which stipulates that "the fundamental rights of labor to organize and engage in collective bargaining shall be preserved." Hutchinson objected that this provision froze "the present situation in regard to labor law." The N. A. M., however, has not yet surrendered to the voices of reaction from Detroit; members of its Executive Committee have let it be known that Romney was asked to leave the most recent meeting of the committee.

Automobile manufacturers themselves, it is important to note, are not solid in their support of the Automotive Council's program for a return to the labor-relations policies and the scarcity of the Hoover era. Paul Hoffman, president of Studebaker and chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, is working hard to implement the labor-management charter. The Ford Company, though it has joined General Motors and Chrysler in playing veterans off against workers, refrained from the general assault which the industry launched against unionization at the Mead committee hearings in Detroit in April. Even within the companies which support Romney important executives can be found who see the dangers to democracy in the industry's present course. But their fears are voiced only in their homes and clubs; to date not a single management in Detroit has protested.

Eighteen months ago Charles E. Wilson of General Electric warned the National Association of Manufacturers as follows: "I tell you frankly that I am deeply alarmed today over the possibility that a right-wing reaction may draw some sections of capital so far away from our traditions as to imperil the entire structure of American life as we know it." Consciously or unconsciously, Wilson was describing the present high command of the automobile industry.

In the Wind

MORE THAN A THOUSAND white Georgians prominent in business and the professions have signed a petition to Congress to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission and signatures are still coming in.

THE JOHN C. WINSTON COMPANY, publishers of dictionaries, will omit the word "nigger" from all future editions, beginning with those copyrighted this year; other terms of racial opprobrium, such as "coon," "dago," "sheeney," and "wop," will be deleted as soon as is technically possible.

MOSS A. PLUNKETT of Roanoke, Virginia, president of the Southern Electoral Reform League and a leader in the fight against the poll tax, will seek the Democratic nomination for Governor of Virginia at the primary on August 7. If he is elected it will be a blow to Senator Harry Flood Byrd, a leader of the anti-New Deal Democrats, who comes up for reelection next year. The present Governor, Colgate W. Darden, Jr., is an important part of the Byrd machine.

PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY for June 9 reports that the Treasury Department has ordered a copy of Stuart Chase's book "Where's the Money Coming From?"

THIS IS FROM A LETTER to the San Francisco *Chronicle* of June 13: "The mere fact that we, as Americans, have suffered more and deprived ourselves of more of the necessities of life than any other people, save for the Chinese, perhaps, denotes that world leadership is our destiny. Furthermore, I suggest that the United Nations Conference should set aside a day during which the delegates might pay homage and respect to us, who have saved them from Nazism."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: R. H. 2328, which would close the mails to material inciting to racial prejudice, is now in the House Committee on Post Offices, headed by Thomas G. Burch of Virginia; H. J. Res. 173, which would authorize a Congressional investigation of Jim Crow baseball, is in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, headed by Clarence F. Lea of California.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A VISIT TO "DER STUERMER"

BY LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Nürnberg, June 4

REMEMBER the brochures bound in heavy brown or rag paper called "Little Journeys" to the homes of eminent authors, painters, and the like, written by Elbert Hubbard and printed by the Roycrofter Brotherhood in East Aurora, New York? My favorite was "A Little Journey to the Home of Albrecht Dürer," the old German artist who lived in the "toy" city of Nürnberg, where Hans Sachs and the Meistersingers loved and joked.

Yesterday I made a visit to Albrecht Dürer's home town to inspect the office of Julius Streicher, who already on November 9, 1923, had marched with Hitler to the Feldherrnhalle in Munich, in the demonstration of premature power which was the baptism by fire of the Nazi movement. Even then he was well known for his anti-Semitic obsession. In the years to come his newspaper, *Der Stürmer*, would be the chief weapon against the Jewish peril. Hitler appointed him Gauleiter of Franconia. He was a heavy, bald man who looked like his own caricatures of the criminal international Jew. He had enormous physical energy and painted thin water colors of sunsets.

Nürnberg, since it was once the most perfect large medieval city in Northern Europe, presents the most sickening aspect of any German ruin. A woman in the street told me that there was one month when prisoners detailed to bury bombing victims worked uninterruptedly in three eight-hour shifts. In Mainz, Frankfurt, Würzburg, even Munich, the interiors of some of the fine churches can at least be restored. Nürnberg is a withered, ferocious horror. Almost the only relatively livable building now standing inside the Old Town is Pfannenschmiedsgasse 19, a modern apartment house, on whose second floor Streicher had his office as editor of the *Stürmer*. The paper was printed across the street. A direct hit at the back of the building blew out all the glass, and a fine heavy layer of dust lies over everything that has not already been carried off.

The entrance hall of the office has the usual photographs of Hitler. A plaster head of Streicher has been smashed. An Islamic cocktail bar is propped in a corner. In the editorial rooms disarray prevails. Proof, papier-mâché mats, old copies of the *Stürmer* lie about. I recognize pictures—hideously retouched—of the Oberbürgermeister von Neuyork, Obergauner La Guardia, Swearing in a Neger as Advocate Against the White Population; of Anna Rosenberg at a Press Conference Plotting Suppression of Free Speech; of Moritz Fischbein Dictating to non-Jewish Doctors with Roosevelt Protection.

In a smashed bookcase is a whole row of anti-Hitler books—Heiden's biographies, Röhm's "Memoirs," early exposés of Dachau, an American slick-paper comic of "Hitler the Murderer," and the Marley Report. One shelf is devoted to the complete works of Jakob Wassermann; another shelf holds the Manns—Thomas, Erika, and Klaus. Underneath are violet and green leather-bound, privately printed German translations of Rétif de la Bretonne, the Marquis de Sade, the Earl of Rochester's "Sodom," a set of paper-bound novels in French—"Miss," by Elsie Birchwhip, "Mary et Son Hussard," by Irène. There are also some monographs by Magnus Hirschfeld, Moll, Freud, Krafft-Ebing and a lot of semi-scientific books on male and female prostitution.

These books were formerly locked up. On the open shelves, on two large floors and in the basement, is a very fine miscellaneous library of Jewish material, literary, theological, economic, political, and historical, with a huge collection of ancient texts, silver circumcision plate, and so on. Streicher read no Hebrew, but he kept a little man who did. The library is well card-indexed. Streicher's editorial method was simple. He would go through a book, underline in red what was useful, have it typed off, and then recast it with the proper slant. He had an excellent collection of seventeenth-century anti-Semitic and anti-Masonic books in French and German, lives of Disraeli in English, and Harold Nicolson's "Peacemaking."

This was a book I had wanted someone to send me for a long time. Lucid, clear, honest, and decent, it is certainly among the best source-books of the present war. There is a particularly effective account of the whole Bela Kun affair, Hungary's first faltering attempt to make a Communist regime. It is brilliantly written, with the able virulence of the hereditary diplomat. "Bela Kun was no gentleman." Streicher had heavily underlined it, a juicy bit.

The day before I had gone into the country, about fifty miles from Nürnberg, to Streicher's farm, a huge, modern, three-winged, barn-like factory of a place sitting in the middle of nowhere. Here he had a private week-end study reserved for more concentrated work. The library was less interesting—his own leather-bound selected works, recent contributions to the Mendelian theory, and packages of *Life* and *Fortune* still tied up. He used the pictures in these magazines as they seemed apposite, having them retouched to accentuate doubtful Jewish facial features and filed for the moment in world history when they could be pulled out to point a moral.

There were many photographs in albums showing Streicher as Gauleiter laying cornerstones for Hitler Jugend homes, Streicher stripped to the waist (a real atrocity picture) digging a swimming pool, Streicher marching at the head of a parade, reenacting ten years later the original march to the Feldherrnhalle. This was a horrible photograph: Streicher, a bolt of anthropoid energy, bathed in light, behind him three huge, beatific S. S. guards, breasting, between pylons fuming artificial smoke, serried ranks of heiling hands. But these were not the worst pictures. Streicher kept his own private police files here, like a memory book. There were a lot of line-up portraits of people, very ordinary people, coming from the towns and villages of the vicinity of his farm. Their occupations were given as farmer, postman, notary,

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butcher. Below each was pasted a newspaper clipping telling of their condemnation and hanging "for offenses against the security of the state." None of them were Jews. The dates were all added in Streicher's hand.

I spent a busy afternoon in the *Stürmer* office. The art-reference library still bore the bookplates of Jewish owners. So did the Aretino and the Marquis de Sade. There were vellum rolls from Prague and Amsterdam. The musical items, which had been used for the compilation of an elaborate "Jewish Enemy in Music," were from Vienna. There were any number of memorial albums in honor of eminent Jewish scholars, art historians, economists, biologists—mostly collections of essays offered by students on a seventy-fifth birthday, with all the signatures on the flyleaf. Only on leaving did I realize that the cocktail bar, which looked like a Moorish whatnot, had formerly been used as a pulpit.

Koestler's Alternatives

THE YOGI AND THE COMMISSAR, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Arthur Koestler. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

SPATIAL metaphors dominate Arthur Koestler's thinking. One of necessity belongs to either the right or the left, and is either progressive or regressive. The yogi and the commissar are diametrical symbols of crucial alternatives: change from within and change from without. History is forever on the move, either upward or downward. Everything is an affair of planes, of levels, of stages. The war is not "horizontal," like the Spanish war, but "vertical," a Tory war. Freud and Marx are the provenance of his ideas; they satisfy his passion for rough dichotomies and graphic analogies.

Koestler's work is journalistic in that it repeats many familiar beliefs without clarifying or refining them. The great weakness of Marxism, he feels, is its spiritual aridity, its intransigent materialism; but he accepts Freud uncritically, which is to say topographically: the unconscious for him is a literal fact rather than a necessary assumption, rather, that is to say, than a definition of the total area of psychological inquiry, and hence a tautology. (The Freudians tend to regard the unconscious as a primordial mass, the emotional as opposed to the intellectual self, or the private as opposed to the social one; the reverse, as Koestler himself seems to imply in his allusions to Jung's "archetypes," is probably much closer to the truth. Emotion rather than thought is the index of consciousness; the thought process is largely subliminal.) One is scarcely reminded in these pages of Koestler's remarkable narrative gift, his brilliant flair for intellectualized melodrama. The essay is a univocal medium compared with the novel, demanding a different kind and degree of intellectual awareness, which, except perhaps in his piece on the intelligentsia, Koestler is hardly able to furnish.

The Intelligentsia is the best thing in the book, partly because it is something of a self-portrait. Koestler himself has the quality of an archetype. He is, with some variations of course, a kind of platonic idea of the modern intellectual. His work is marked, for one thing, by a certain gratuitous coarseness that, for better or worse, peculiarly belongs to the corrupt modern sensibility; and he has the vividness, the intensity, and the inflexibility of a true ideologue. It is typical of the pertinacity of his convictions that he should write a methodical, heavily documented indictment of the Soviet Union, charging mainly that it has abandoned the principle of equality, and yet allow himself to say that its "economic structure is historically progressive," and, in the same essay, that "the Russian experiment neither proves nor disproves the possibility of socialism; it was an experiment carried out under the most unfavorable laboratory conditions and hence inconclusive." T. S. Eliot remarks somewhere that wisdom consists largely of uncynical disillusion. Koestler is plainly cynical and, it would appear, undisillusioned.

"In this war," he says, "we are fighting against a total lie in the name of a half-truth," as if it were ever, in the nature of things, reasonable to expect to fight for anything better. It is odd that Koestler, a proponent of dialectics, should ignore this truism. His cynicism amounts, in fact, to a kind of dejected, or inverted, idealism; it is a relaxed, relatively impotent version of the very thing he attacks in "Darkness at Noon." There is a good deal of rather arbitrary pessimism in this book concerning the immediate future. What makes it suspect is that it is virtually identical with Koestler's pessimism about the future of the Socialist movement.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

BRIEFER COMMENT

Tom Paine

TOM PAINE, the voice of the American Revolution, was vilified during his lifetime far more viciously than, for example, the "atheist" and "Jacobin" Jefferson, and historians have been slow to set the record straight. The first biography of Paine, published in England after the appearance of "The Rights of Man," was commissioned and paid for by his enemies and issued for the express purpose of discrediting him. A second biography, published in the United States shortly after his death, was written by one of the shrillest opponents of his ideas in America. For years these two books were the chief source of information about his life. It was not until the 1890's that the authoritative biography by Moncure Conway and a complete edition of Paine's writings appeared. During the past two decades Paine has attracted increasing attention. A new edition of his writings in ten volumes and a biography appeared in 1925. Two years later Mary Agnes Best published her "Tom Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy." Hesketh Pearson's "Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind" appeared in 1937, and Frank Smith's "Thomas Paine: Liberator" in 1938. The most widely known portrait of Paine today, of course, is Howard Fast's novel, "Citizen Tom Paine."

W. E. Woodward, author of the most recent volume about Paine, "Tom Paine: America's Godfather" (Dutton, $3.50), has shown courage in tackling a subject so recently and so thoroughly preempted by a popular novel. Woodward argues, however, that even an author as aware of Paine's merits as Fast has not been free of the influence of the detractors. He contends that Paine was throughout his life more

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abstemious than one would suppose from the novel, that Fast's opening scene describing Paine's first meeting with Franklin is wholly out of character, and that Fast's description of Paine's physical appearance has little relation to fact. But however interesting such matters may be, they are of slight consequence compared to an evaluation of Paine's ideas—which were still dangerous enough ten years after his death for a London bookseller to be fined fifteen hundred pounds and sent to prison for three years for selling copies of his books. And here I suspect that Woodward is rather wide of the mark when he argues that "Paine was not a radical within the meaning of that term as it is used today." Gilbert Chinard has written that the Federalists of Jefferson's day had "paroxysms" of indignation when the President invited the old and ailing Paine to return to the United States from France. I doubt whether the Federalists of today would be more hospitable. But if Woodward offers little in the way of interpretation, he will have performed a public service if he scrapes a little of the mud off Paine's reputation—and an even greater one if he sends a few readers back to "Common Sense," "The Rights of Man," and "The Age of Reason." COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

The Future in the Pacific

FOR A THOROUGH ORIENTATION in the problems of the Pacific as seen by several scores of our leading authorities in this field, Americans can do no better than to study carefully "Security in the Pacific," a preliminary report of the Ninth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Institute of Pacific Relations, $2.50). The report summarizes the conference's round-table discussions of such topics as The Future of Japan, Economic Recovery and Progress in Pacific Countries, Cultural and Race Relations, the Future of Dependent Areas, and Collective Security. While sharp differences of opinion on all of these issues are revealed, there is a surprisingly large core of agreement among the experts on many matters which are little understood by the public at large. Only through recognition and appraisal of the conflicting viewpoints can we hope to build a sound and lasting peace in the Pacific. MAXWELL S. STEWART

The Challenge of Housing

DOROTHY ROSENMAN has grappled with the housing problem both as a settlement leader and as chairman of the National Committee on Housing. In "A Million Homes a Year" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), her exposition of causes and cures, there are neither tears for the slum dweller nor cheers for the building industry. There are only hard facts and homily.

The author is not too pessimistic about reduction in building costs and sees hope for greater standardization in due time; she heaves out at the critics of public housing, but saves a few blows for the public-housing enthusiasts too, charging that they stand apart from the community when they should be stimulating private as well as public housing and circulating more facts for lay consumption. She hurls a challenge at industry to come forth and do for housing what it did for the automobile, but then expounds upon the obstacles—blight, high municipal taxes, high land and building costs, poor zoning, and reckless subdivision practices.

The book is sprinkled with interesting tables and information, and a good case is made for action. But like others recently issued, it will leave the reader perplexed. How can the job be done and how soon? With a need for 12,000,000 housing units or more in the next ten years, are we to go back to the same old routine of jerry-building, the same old speculation in homes, and the same old trickle of slum-clearance operations? Mrs. Rosenman says no: city planning is necessary. She wants full employment and also more public works. She sees no need for the middleman who laps up profits on materials as they flow from factory to builder. She wants less speculation in land. She wants many things, in fact. But she doesn't tell the reader when and how housing, her "Cinderella of the industrial era," will ever find the prince. "A method must be found" to cure this ailment, and "attentive consideration" must be given to that ailment, but her prescription is a simple compound of "grit," "determination," "patience," and the "pursuit of facts."

There are many stimulating and informative passages in the book, particularly its defense of the public housing program, but it leaves unanswered the big current question, which even the government has dodged: "Where do we go from here?" CHARLES ABRAMS

Uncommunicated Excitement

QUENTIN REYNOLDS says of Alice Leone-Moats, author of "No Passport for Paris" (Putnam, $2.50), that you could drop her into a potato patch in the County Donegal and she would find something to write about, and I quite agree. She would write two sentences about potatoes, a patronizing chapter on the potato growers, and several volumes about the more distinguished of the persons she charmed or outwitted or talked to a standstill. It would all be very, very mysterious and important—and boring. That, at least, is how I find this garrulous book. In some quarters Miss Moats has been regarded as an apologist for Franco. That is not really so, for though her book can be quite unpleasant in its general frivolity, it contains many statements which are critical of the Franco regime. Perhaps it would be just to say that Miss Moats shows little capacity for moral indignation about great matters. She is prone to minimize well-mannered evil.

The second part of the book deals with Miss Moats's clandestine journey into occupied France, for which she was severely reprimanded by the State Department. Without being ready to declare a belief that she has told the whole truth about that escapade, I cannot for the life of me understand why she did it unless it was for the excitement, which she has failed to communicate. Certainly few journalists have ever failed so miserably to make an adventure interesting. And when one notes the comparative ease and comfort of her emotions in circulating among Frenchmen who were risking their lives, one is almost moved to anger. The State Department was making too much of a small matter, but the underground officials who took Miss Moats into France would certainly not have had my trust. A wordy, dull book of unimportant sensations and political chatter, of conservative but not perverse import. RALPH BATES

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN 1936 Toscanini recorded with the New York Philharmonic the performances of Dawn and Siegfried's Rhine Journey from Wagner's "Götterdämmerung" and the Prelude to "Lohengrin" that are in Victor Set 308. About three years ago Victor issued, in Set 853, a recording of a later performance of the "Götterdämmerung" music by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony; and now it has issued, on 11-8807 ($1), a recording of their later performance of the "Lohengrin" Prelude that must have been made at the same time, since it has the same characteristics. In certain important respects the recorded sound of the later performances is superior to that of the earlier ones; but in others that are no less important it is the sound of the earlier ones that is superior. The later ones are recorded with a wider frequency-range, which gives the sound a distinctness, liveness, and brilliance on top that it lacks on the old record—the high violins and woodwinds in the first part of the Prelude being breathtakingly real and beautiful. But as the piece continues and the sound descends one hears that the later performance is recorded with insufficient bass, which deprives it of the body and depth that it has on the old record; and as it builds up to its climax one hears that it is recorded with a limitation on volume, which deprives that climax of the massiveness and power, and the entire performance of the correct organic proportions, that they have on the old record. Apart from all this, the sound of the new recording, which was made in Carnegie Hall, is very beautiful, with none of the hardness and reverberance of even the best of the recordings made in Studio 8H.

There are a few extraneous noises; but they are not disturbing.

Victor also has issued, in one of its useless new 25-cent "showpiece albums," the recently made recording of Koussevitzky's performance with the Boston Symphony of Ravel's "Daphnis et Chloé" Suit No. 2 (Set SP-1; $2.25). The music is marvelously orchestrated trash; the performance has long been one of the wonders of our time, unequaled by any other. I speak of the performance as I have heard it in New York—of the particular sonorities, of their refinement, glow, shimmer, and radiance in the particular, and superior, acoustic conditions of Carnegie Hall. I probably would not hear them in Symphony Hall; and probably they could not be reproduced completely by any recording; certainly they are not by either the old or the new one. Here again it turns out that the new one has obvious and important points of superiority over the old; but that the old one is not without important points of superiority over the new. Again there is evidence of the vastly extended frequency-range in the wonderful distinctness and liveness of the murmuring strings and woodwinds at the beginning, the brilliance on top as the violins take over the melody from the cellos. But again there is evidence of insufficient bass in the lack of depth and body in the wonderful chord that is the climax of that melodic line and one of the great moments of the performance. There is too much bass in the old recording; but it gives that chord its effect. Moreover, the reverberation in Symphony Hall that produced such noisy confusion in the loud portions of "Harold in Italy" also produces it at the climaxes of "Daphnis et Chloé"—for example, at the end of the first side. The old recording is free of this; and the absence of excessive reverberation may be one reason for its greater smoothness and refinement of sound in quieter passages; but another reason may be the fact that the older performance itself is more relaxed. I hope, therefore, that the old recording will be retained in the catalogue.

Oddly enough, a recording (11-8745; $1) of a performance of Mendelssohn's "Hebrides" or "Fingal's Cave" Overture by Fiedler with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra has excellent balance of treble and bass in its beautiful sound, and no trace of excessive reverberation. The work is charming; the performance good.

Victor's other June releases have not yet arrived.

CONTRIBUTORS

MICHAEL CLARK, an accredited correspondent of *The Nation*, was in the Middle East from 1942 to 1944 and is on his way back there now.

KLAUS MANN, son of Thomas Mann and well known as a novelist in his own right, is now on the staff of the Mediterranean edition of *Stars and Stripes*.

IRVING RICHTER is the national legislative representative of the United Automobile Workers, C. I. O. He has written for the *Journal of Political Economy* and other publications.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN is in Germany with the Third Army, attached to the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ has contributed to the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Kenyon Review*.

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DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT WANT A SOFT PEACE FOR JAPAN?

The Nation for July 14 will print three articles on the character of the enemy and the threat of an unsatisfactory peace.

Moderates or War-Makers?

The role of the Zaibatsu (the big-business group) in obstructing social progress in Japan and in laying the basis for Pearl Harbor.

The Strange Story of Mr. Grew

BY I. F. STONE

How our Under Secretary of State earned his reputation for "understanding" the Japanese.

A Program for Post-War Japan

BY T. A. BISSON

The kind of program needed to eradicate Japanese militarism contrasted with the program proposed by the State Department.

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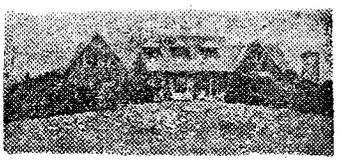

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Letters to the Editors

THE FISCHER-NATION DEBATE

THE response from our readers on the exchange of letters between Louis Fischer and *The Nation* indicates a three-to-one support of *The Nation's* position. The many comments we have received from all sections of the country show how widespread is the concern over American relations with Russia and their effect on world peace. Limitations of space prevent our printing any of the letters in full. Several have been summarized below.

Reinhold Niebuhr, one of our contributing editors, supports *The Nation's* position in general terms but believes that we are oversimplifying the problem when we say that, despite mistakes, the Russians have a more rigorous anti-fascist policy than the Americans. Mr. Niebuhr points out that Russia is using fascist forces in Rumania and Hungary. "If Russia destroys the independence of Czechoslovakia completely, as now seems likely, and if it refurbishes Marxism as an instrument of policy in the central and western parts of Europe, while holding the eastern part through pan-Slavism, etc., this will present us with problems that transcend the fascist-anti-fascist category you use. Our primary mistake may not be the use of fascist forces but the general lack of a creative economic policy. Russia's mistake will be that it will destroy possibilities of mutual security by unilateral actions, prompted by fear but creating the object it fears."

Raymond Walsh, New York City, feels "that *The Nation's* record is completely sound and that the editors have handled the magazine in an excellent way during a terribly difficult period."

Jacob Fishman, New York City, is "not exactly in love with Mr. Fischer's acrobatics," but neither can he "fathom the intellectual myopia of *The Nation* about Russia." He asks whether the formation of Communist Party cells throughout the world and the sealing off of its own territory and of countries within its sphere of influence are part of Russia's "security policy."

Joseph Kovner, Washington, D. C., holds that liberals have had to make many compromises "in supporting the war as a struggle against fascism." He believes that *The Nation* has, in a sense, "mortgaged its principles and has taken for security the promises of statesmen and the I. O. U.'s of its own wishful thinking." He doubts that it is "the function of a liberal magazine to bargain with expediency for the sake of apparent action" and suggests that we should rather press for freedom and human rights "above all considerations of power politics and the security of official organizations."

Neal Gilkyson, Washington, D. C., read Mr. Fischer's letter with "alarm and indignation." She insists that "the whole business of objective reporting has become more or less a myth and that the merit of a partisan journal is determined by the values it cleaves to." She approves those of *The Nation* and contrasts them with "that notoriously objective magazine, *Time*."

Dean Beslich, San Francisco, California, who has read *The Nation* for thirty years and describes himself as "merely one of the customers," supports our position and suggests that in view of the crucial issues that lie ahead liberals can ill afford to bother much about the Louis Fischers of the world.

A. E. Swan, Madison, South Dakota, feels that Mr. Fischer's accusations are actually compliments. He points out that no magazine engaged in interpreting important news of the day can avoid having an attitude for or against democracy, world cooperation, and so on, and that such an attitude can always be dismissed as a "line" by those opposing it.

William Weber, Detroit, Michigan, who is eighty-nine and has read *The Nation* for seventy years, criticizes us for not having taken the first steps in severing relations with Mr. Fischer. (Several other readers expressed similar sentiments.) Mr. Weber warns that preparations are being made for World War III by the Catholic hierarchy, British Tories, and certain elements in the State Department.

Eva Robin, New York City, who says she once regarded Mr. Fischer as a "guide and teacher," writes a letter of personal reminiscence excoriating his anti-Soviet bias.

C. H. Coyle, Berwyn, Illinois, congratulates *The Nation* on Mr. Fischer's resignation and states that only a distinctly anti-Soviet tone, not an impartial one, would have pleased him.

Daniel Kester, Wichita, Kansas, says that anti-Russian sentiment has been developed by capitalists, imperialists, and Roman Catholics to goad the American people into an economic war with Russia.

W. W. Lyman, St. Helena, California, a subscriber of thirty years' standing, asks if it is not "evident that Russia's attitude is due to the anti-Russian basis of fascism rather than to a dislike of fascism per se. To say that to see Russian conditions clearly and to judge them according to the fundamental principles of justice is to promote war with Russia is obviously untrue. We got on very well with Czarist Russia and get on very well with Vargas's Brazil. Stalin is a 'realist'; he might even be influenced in the direction of democracy by a powerful and candid world opinion."

James A. Hardy, Saginaw, Michigan, agrees with *The Nation's* position and discusses local attitudes toward Russia. "It is quite disturbing that so many people out here show an anti-Russian bias. Heretofore it had been held down by the war. But now newspapers carrying articles by people like von Wiegand and H. J. Taylor are stirring up latent anti-Russian sentiments. The official attitude on lend-lease to Russia is baffling. All shipments of completed machines have been sent to storage depots this past month, and now orders have come through to hold up all production work pending further notice. It may be that this is part of pressure diplomacy, but it certainly seems like a good way to get the Russians upset."

Our subscription department was gratified to note that four readers expressed material support of *The Nation* by renewing subscriptions because of Mr. Fischer's resignation. No cancelations have yet resulted, although Joseph Kovner warned us that he does "not now intend to cancel" his subscription. Mrs. Elizabeth Uhling of West Allis, Wisconsin, indulged in a "hollow laugh" when she thought of the $20 she had contributed to what she had hoped "would be a better cause."

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